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The Editor

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BATTLE FOR JOBS
Leo McGree

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WEST GERMAN SCANDAL TRIAL
D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

★

Also: articles on Shipbuilding—Liberal Party—The Vatican Council—Greece and the Common Market

JANUARY 1963

One Shilling and Sixpence

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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READERS' OUTLOOK

The Secret of Britain's Greatness

IN THE COTTON TOWNS of Lancashire, 'England's dark, satanic mills', a vast misery of unemployment. In Blackburn, 15,862 unemployed or on short-time; in Stockport, 12,000—some 31·8 per cent on relief; in Glossop, 35·9 per cent of the population living on charity: that was the record in November, 1862. For one hundred years ago, the American Civil War was at its peak; and the blockade by the North—the 'united states'—of the cotton-exporting slave-owners led to a cotton famine which brought the textile industry of Britain's industrial North to a standstill. The misery 'is incredible', wrote Karl Marx at the time: whether the British government would intervene in favour of the slave-owners to break the blockade 'has accordingly become a bread-and-butter question for the working class.' Every effort was made to inflame them by their 'natural superiors' into a clamour for intervention. 'Reynolds Weekly Newspaper has been purchased expressly in order . . . that it might reiterate weekly in raging diatribes' that demand, writes Marx and the government was 'only waiting for the intervention cry from below'. Then, in a famous passage, he continues: 'Under these circumstances, the obstinacy with which the working class keeps silent, or breaks its silence only to raise its voice against intervention and *for* the "united states", is admirable. This is a new and brilliant proof of the indestructible excellence of the English popular masses, of that excellence which is the secret of England's greatness.' A wonderful tribute, and a tradition which we should teach every child to treasure and to deserve anew in each generation—not least today. Ten months after Marx wrote this, the working class broke its courageous silence in a big way. As soon as Abraham Lincoln at last came out for the emancipation of the slaves as a war aim—the turning point of the war—immense working class demonstrations were held in Britain *against* breaking the blockade which was causing them such misery, against the slave-owners, sending messages of support to Lincoln. Six thousand in Manchester, 4,000 in Bradford; meetings in Sheffield, Stroud and finally in London. Then even sections of the middle class began joining in, and an Emancipation Society held meetings a hundred years ago this month such as that pictured on our middle pages: there are no drawings extant of the far greater workers' demonstrations.

A hundred years later it is the turn of Cuba to show what the struggle for emancipation means today; and the efforts of the gallant Cuban people strike hatred and terror in all reactionaries, just as sympathy goes out to them from 'the popular masses' everywhere, like the great-hearted people of Lancashire. A *Blackburn* reader is full of praise for the articles in December about Cuba, remarking: 'Anyone in the British Isles in the Socialist movement needs those articles. But soon *L.M.* will be giving further help about the unemployment menace.'

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(Here you are, Les; unemployment in Lancashire in 1862 on this page and in 1962 on page 16.) He continues: 'Many who thought Socialism was not a necessity are having second thoughts. I'm taking your tip of looking at *L.M.*'s index, and each of our new recruits shall have a back number with an article that fits his or her needs.' A *South Coast* reader: 'R.P.D. has excelled himself—a Leninist analysis with the typical Leninist conclusion for action. On the Indo-China clash it was superb. It throws the blame just where it belongs and then proposes reasonable settlement, which the Chinese are ready to make.' A *Scottish* friend writes: 'R.P.D. and Pritt on Cuba are dealing with topics I was discussing recently with a new friend. I had done my best with him, but of course *L.M.* covers the ground more fully and effectively. Now I shall send it to him as a follow-up of our talk.' More examples of readers winning new friends for *L.M.* and therefore influencing people. Another *Scot:* 'Here are two new half-yearly subscriptions. Send them the Cuba-and-Border number; and if I can have a specimen copy of it for a Labour councillor, I hope to get yet another new reader.' A *rail shop worker* sold 20 of a recent number: 'It was appreciated by the lads, and three have become regular readers already.' An enthusiast writes from *Ireland:* 'It's a much respected journal here, having the great virtue of being wonderfully consistent. It certainly goes the rounds in the workshops'. Here's what two older readers have done: one in *Surrey* bought an extra copy at a meeting he attended 'to pass to a friend whom I hope to win as a new reader.' A *Dorset* man sends us the price of a December copy to forward to a friend in New Zealand: 'What a masterly account of Cuba and the Border by R.P.D.—wish I could order 50 to distribute, but being a pensioner I can't afford it. Long live the *L.M.*!' These are examples of what almost every reader could do, using *L.M.* to 'continue the argument'.

On the money side, I wish we could mention everyone who sent a bit extra in this season of gifts and 'mellow fruitfulness'. But I want especially to thank our honoured friend, the Dean, whose letter we print below, also that *South London* Communist Party Branch for the £2 10s. ('part proceeds of a jumble sale'); and the *Channel Islander,* who adds: 'Here's greetings to you all—and a bigger circulation in the New Year!' And the same to you, and to all, from us all.

ANGELA TUCKETT

The Deanery,
Canterbury.

I am sending you £5 for the splendid line and skilled journalism of the 'Labour Monthly'.

Hewlett Johnson.

For other Fund Figures, see page 48.

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

1963—Britain and the World

From Base Camp the British-Russian party can see Communism Peak, the mountain they will climb together.

(*Daily Herald*, July 25, 1962.)

AND they did. However, that is a parable of the future. At the present moment Britain is at a low point—far lower than Base Camp. Economically. Politically. In the international scale. John Bull has become everybody's target. Every ass brays over the stricken lion who once lorded it over the imperialist world. The economy creaks and groans. The strategy is in ruins. The Commonwealth is mocked by those who planned it. The dream of Full Employment and the New Capitalism has faded. The grim dole queues lengthen. Each ally in turn gives a kick. The suppliant at the Gate of Joyous Entry, headquarters of the Common Market, finds the entry neither joyous nor easy. Uncle Sam turns a cold shoulder on the spurned and no longer indispensable retainer. Even the once beloved Commonwealth has been sacrificed for nothing. No wonder all sections of the people, high and low, have begun to ask: What has gone wrong? Is Britain played out? What is the future for Britain? The question is worth asking. Nor can the answer be sought in isolation from the rest of the world. The problem of Britain today is a crucial expression of the problem of the new world situation. The coming Communist Party Congress at Easter will be devoted to this problem of Britain's Future. It will be worth while to attempt some preliminary examination of some aspects of this problem.

Why?

What went wrong? In 1945 Britain emerged from the war seemingly at the height of strength and influence in the world. It is true that the main battles of victory to destroy the enemy armies had had to be waged by the Soviet armies, with the Anglo-American forces only participating on any large scale in a late auxiliary role, chiefly to prevent the extension of the popular revolution over so much of Europe as they could grasp into their control. It is true that the main profits of the war went to the United States, which suffered no wounds of war on its territory and amassed fort-

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while the Soviet Union was devastated as no country before in history, and Britain also suffered some war destruction and economic losses. But the Triple Pact of the Crimea opened the way for Britain to participate as an equal with the United States and the Soviet Union in leading the new United Nations and the world along the path of peace and reconstruction, with fascism and German militarism destroyed for ever, and collective security ensured so long as the three powers maintained co-operation.

Opportunity Squandered

The British-Soviet Treaty of Alliance (whose twenty years, if it had been fulfilled, would have reached completion in 1962) provided for Britain and the Soviet Union at the two ends of Europe to co-operate in maintaining peace in Europe after the war, prevent the revival of German militarism and aggression, and 'undertake not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other'. Shades of Nato, which was a flagrant violation of Britain's binding treaty obligation. The masses of the people in Britain, as in all the countries of Europe, showed their enthusiasm in the election of 1945 for the new perspective of peace and anti-fascism and friendship with the Soviet Union and the disarmament of Germany, and their eagerness to enter on a radical programme of economic and social reconstruction, ending Toryism and monopoly rule for ever, and advancing towards socialism. All this has been squandered during these eighteen years to bring Britain down to the present nadir of weakness, degradation and humiliation. Why? And how?

Price of Fulton

What is now revealed in the sight of all, in the present weakened position of Britain, is something more than the momentary outcome of the collapse of Skybolt, the toughness of Acheson and Macnamara, or the merciless terms of the Six. It is more than the sharpened temporary downturn of the economic trade cycle, which may worsen further before the customary pre-election shot in the arm administered to the now confirmed Keynesian addict. The continuous descent needs to be seen over these eighteen years. We are paying now the price of Fulton; of Churchill and Bevin and Attlee, no less than of Eden and Macmillan; of Nato and German rearmament; of nuclear mania and the sell-out to the United States; of eighteen years of treason to the British people and to peace.

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From the Shame of 1938 to the Shame of 1963

Fulton reproduced Munich. Earl Attlee, offering a spirited answer to Acheson in *The Times,* recalls that also in 1938 'an American well-wisher', observing Britain under Neville Chamberlain and Halifax 'humiliating themselves' before Mussolini and Hitler, might have regarded Britain as 'down and out', but that '1940 came'. He forgets that the essence of the humiliation of Munich (which only the sole Communist M.P. opposed at the time and not after the event), of the Government of Neville Chamberlain and Butler and Lord Home, was that their blind anti-Soviet hostility led them to sacrifice Britain's national interests in order to foster German militarism and rearm Germany (in violation of their previous pledges to keep Germany disarmed) as the valiant champion against the Soviet Union, and thereby made the second world war inevitable. But this is the very definition of the policy carried to even more shameful lengths by Fulton, by Nato, by the rearmament of German militarism and neo-Nazism and the grovelling appeasement of the rulers of the United States, and carried out equally by the Attlee Labour Government and the Tory Governments during these eighteen years. Earl Attlee forgets that it was his chosen Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin (or should we rather say, the chosen of Churchill and King George?) who first publicly proclaimed the anti-Soviet crusade amid the plaudits of the fascist press, even before Fulton and before Truman and the United States had grasped the new alignment and change of partners; just as it was the Labour Government of Attlee and Bevin which broke every pledge of Potsdam and the war by inaugurating the rearmament of German militarism. All that has followed is the sequel and disastrous working out of this suicidal policy of Toryism and Tory-Labourism. And if Father Kennedy as Ambassador at the Court of St. James observed the humiliation of Munich and its sequel and recorded his adverse verdict of the fall of Britain, it is a fitting irony of history that Son Kennedy as President should observe the deeper humiliation of Britain through the repetition of the same policy today, and should record an even harsher adverse verdict through the cold words of an Acheson and a Macnamara. The Father, the Son—and Macmillan as the Holy Ghost to breathe the expiring sigh.

Philosophic Pessimists

Why did they do it? Today the Tory press and 'enlightened' organs of opinion and the B.B.C., not very hidden persuaders are full

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of 'profound' philosophic analyses demonstrating that the decline of Britain from former grandeur to lower rank is an inevitable predestined historic necessity. Empires come and empires go. So it has always been and so it always will be. Nevertheless, for consolation a little niche will be found for Britain inside the new West European Axis under the aegis of the German Eagle. The Navy League has been urgently pleading for an extension of British naval building in order that Britain may not lose third place as a naval power. Within the lifetime of some of those who read these words the same Navy League used to demand imperatively, as the indispensable condition for the survival of Britain, that the British Navy must equal the combined strength of the two next strongest naval powers—the 'Two Power Standard'. Now it has become the 'Third Power Standard'. Ichabod and all that.

Kipling! Thou Shouldst Be Living At This Hour!

What a pity that Kipling could not have lived to see this day. He died just two years before Munich, but had lived long enough to see the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935 which gave Germany 100 per cent equality in submarines for the more efficient destruction of British merchant shipping and sailors. He would have understood this final outcome of his saga and relished it with his customary grim realism. For there has been no more striking demonstration since Balzac of the familiar Marxist truth than in the case of this most gifted poet of the modern imperialist era in Britain, who has been too long casually dismissed by some on the left as a jingo, that his power of artistic creative insight outweighed and cancelled out his superficial political tenets with a deeper truth of life to which he bore witness almost in spite of himself. Revolutionary writers could do worse than study Kipling as a model, not necessary of metrical form (out-dated), but for vividness of imagination and relentless social insight beneath the jingo trappings.

Ring Out the Old! Ring In the New!

However, all this philosophic maundering about dying empires and nostalgic self-pity over lost glories or noble resignation to a diminished role is beside the point. Only one question matters: What is being done to advance into the new world. Certainly it is true that the decline and fall of British imperialism, as of all imperialism, is in the long range an inevitable historical reality of the age in which we live, and is not caused by the vagaries of policy of

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this or that statesman or politician of the past eighteen years. The disintegration, not yet complete, but approaching completion, of Britain's old colonial empire is as inevitable a phenomenon of the present era as was the loss of the former world industrial monopoly of Britain in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Britain's traditional capitalist prosperity in the nineteenth century had been built up on the basis of that world industrial monopoly, which had itself been created on foundations of colonial blood and plunder, and whose noisily proclaimed prosperity masked extreme class divisions and exploitation and mass poverty also in Britain. Marx and Engels had predicted the downfall of that monopoly in face of the growth of younger capitalist rivals, the United States and Germany. From this they deduced the necessity for Britain to advance to a new social and economic order, to socialism. That lesson is underlined with new urgency today.

False Sunset Glow

The socialist movement did arise anew in Britain, as Marx and Engels had predicted, in the moment of the downfall of Britain's world industrial monopoly eight decades ago. But it was not yet strong enough or experienced enough to prevail against its powerful antagonist. Therefore the agony has been prolonged. The rapid extension of the world colonial monopoly was seen as the substitute for the lost world manufacturing and trading monopoly. A false sunset glow of prosperity—most glaring in all its ostentatious hideousness in the Edwardian era—has been maintained during the first half of the twentieth century on the basis of the continued world colonial monopoly and overseas exploitation sustaining an increasingly sick and parasitic capitalism. But the onset of the general crisis of capitalism, with the first world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, and still more the disintegration of the colonial system during the two decades since the second world war is bringing this basis to an end and sounding the death knell for the old order in Britain. The manifest bankruptcy of the policies of Toryism and Tory-Labourism to provide an answer is becoming more and more widely felt in the present situation. The need to advance to a new programme for the new conditions is universally recognised.

Mirage of the New Colonialism

'End of Empire' and 'Empire And After' has become the current theme-song of Tory and Labour imperialists alike (even while they

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dispatch the troops to Brunei to maintain their non-existent empire). Their picture is premature. We are still living through a further transitional stage of attempted adaptation of imperialism. In the face of the universal national liberation revolt of all the colonial peoples the imperialists have had to concede independence in nearly all cases, sometimes after defeat in heavy colonial wars, and will soon have to do so in the few remaining cases, even though they try to hobble independence at first with all kinds of conditions of transfer, partitions, constitution-mongering, bases and the like. But political independence has not yet meant the end of imperialist economic exploitation. Economic exploitation, on the basis of the old colonial economy has been maintained and even extended, sometimes in new forms (disguised as 'aid'). The strategy of neo-colonialism has become the key strategy of modern imperialism.

Deepening Gulf between Rich and Poor

The increase of colonial super-profits during the past decade (the supposed decade of the Strachey-Hinden 'End of Empire') has found striking expression in the terms of trade between the advanced imperialist and 'under-developed' (colonial and ex-colonial) countries. The United Nations Bulletin of Statistics for June 1962 has reported that between 1953 and the first quarter of 1962 the price of manufactures from the advanced industrial countries has risen by 9 per cent, while the price of primary commodities from the under-developed countries has fallen by 12 per cent—of food by 22 per cent. This has given rise to the conspicuously increasing gulf between the advanced imperialist countries and the colonial or ex-colonial countries. The rich grow richer, and the poor poorer—the characteristic general law of capitalist development. Faced with this horrifying world picture, sincere and well-meaning philanthropists, ignorant of the workings of imperialism, proclaim the fact of this growing gulf in order to beg for crumbs of charity for the poor starving populations of the 'backward' 'under-developed' countries, as an alternative to fighting to end imperialist economic exploitation, which keeps these peoples backward and poor.

Colonial Basis of British 'Affluence'

This increase of colonial super-profits during the most recent years has partially concealed the real bankruptcy of the imperialist system, and has been one of the key factors which has helped to cushion the shocks of the depressions of the post-war trade cycle.

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It is this increase of colonial super-profits which has given rise to the current false reformist theories of a new crisis-free capitalism with a perspective of infinite prosperity. Nowhere has this applied more conspicuously than in the case of Britain, the most sick and parasitic modern capitalism.

> Taking the period from 1956 as a whole, the change in the relationship of export prices to import prices has seemingly contributed something like £600 million per annum to the strengthening of the United Kingdom's balance of payments position.
>
> (*Financial Times,* August 28, 1962.)

£3,000 million in the five years 1956-61. Without this the recorded net surplus of £628 million on the balance of payments during these five years would have shown a net deficit of £2,372 million or an average annual deficit of £493 million! Such is the colonialist basis of Tory 'economic success' (with stagnating production) during the fifties. And this is leaving out of account the direct colonial super-profits.

> It has been estimated that more than half Britain's income from overseas investment comes from her two oil companies, Shell and B.P. The loss of the Middle East oil wells would make a visible hole in the British standard of living.
>
> (*Observer,* January 29, 1961.)

The filthy Tory 'never had it so good' propaganda is based on colonial hunger. Here we come to the real taproot of British foreign policy, the cold war, the inflated arms expenditure, the servility to the more powerful United States imperialists. Here equally is the taproot of British opportunism, reformism, the 'new socialism' and all the lying propaganda of the 'new capitalism'. But the mirage will not last.

Pricking the Bubble

We have now entered the era when the further advance of the national liberation movement has begun to challenge imperialist economic exploitation and demand restoration of the economic resources of their countries. The advent of this new era was heralded by the fall of the Attlee Labour Government over the Abadan crisis, with the dispatch of warships and the vain attempt to initiate military action (only frustrated, as Lord Morrison has now told us in his Memoirs, because the professional service chiefs informed him that the military operations he desired were technically impossible of fulfilment without a delay of time for preparation and mobilisation which would render them ineffective) against—

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sweet irony for a Labour Government—Iranian oil nationalisation. The advent of the new era was heralded once again by the fall of the Eden Tory Government over the Suez crisis, with the fiasco of the Anglo-French war against Egyptian nationalisation of the Suez Canal (now working better than ever without the Canal Company). The two key transitions of Government in Britain during the eighteen years since 1945. Each time over the Middle East. Each time over the colonial question. Each time against nationalisation in a colonial 'sphere of influence'. It may be recalled how Lloyd George fell over the Chanak crisis in the Middle East. Once again colonialism is revealed as the taproot of domestic politics in Britain. But this time this final offensive of national liberation, this offensive for economic liberation from the strangehold of imperialism, this offensive which is still only beginning and is visibly gathering force in all the newly independent countries (compare the Cuba crisis and its significance for the international situation), will finally end the privileged basis of the economy of all the imperialist countries, and especially of Britain. This will open a new political situation in Britain.

Mirage of the 'New Capitalism'

Already the mirage of the miraculous crisis-free 'New Capitalism' and permanent Full Employment and the 'Disappearance of Class Divisions' and the 'New Middle-Class Working Class' has begun to fade, just as the West German 'Economic Miracle' has become tarnished. Toryism is burying its old posters as deep as it can. The 'New Thinkers' of the now tattered and dog-eared, once so glossy, revised version of 'socialism' or 'contemporary capitalism' have now switched their record, and found other hares (nuclear bees in the bonnet supplied straight from the Pentagon, or Common Market delusions of prosperity) to pursue. The indignant repudiations to denounce the obsession of 'old-fashioned socialists' with 'obsolete' memories from the thirties are now less vociferous. Capitalism, it is being discovered, through all its varying successive phases (perhaps this may be offered as the 'newest thought' of all for young people) is still capitalism.

Preach the New Gospel in Merseyside

Let Strachey, Jay and Crosland go out to preach their gospel of the oh-so-shiny prosperous managed capitalism to the grim queues outside the Labour Exchanges on the North-East Coast and the

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Merseyside. Let them describe the beauties of the mixed economy (better, perhaps, 'mixed-up economy', like the jargon phrase 'mixed-up kids') to the young school-leavers who come out fresh and eager to find their place in the world, and instead find no work, but only rebuffs and the dole and their parents' charity, while they can regale themselves with reading in the press about 'teen-agers' huge spending power'. Let them descant on the joys of the 'new working class', which is 'no longer a working class', to the railway shopmen and the railwaymen and the miners and the steelmen and the foundry workers and the shipbuilders who find the gates closed and the cranes silent and the works abandoned; and in consequence their household crashes down from a relatively higher wage to an unemployment rate which is even a lower proportion of earnings than pre-war, while their only chance of finding a job is to abandon their dream home, won after twelve years waiting on the list; and the H.P. payments on the wonderful 'luxuries' of fridge, telly and washing machine of the 'new working class' have become a nightmare. Capitalism is still capitalism, and the decorations on the chains only make the chains more galling. It is even possible that our honoured contributor and front-line fighter, Leo McGree (read his article on p. 16) is not such an 'obsolete shellback', but is closer to the workers and the realities of capitalism than all the 'New Thinkers' in their cosy Penguin coteries.

Muddle of the 'Mixed-Up Economy'

Of course it is a libel to suggest that capitalism is not advancing, merely because the old basic productive industries are going down. 'Planning' is now the watchword even of Toryism. Maudling has rushed to the rescue by cutting purchase tax on motor cars in the hope of flooding still more cars on the chock-full overcrowded roads so as to provide more headaches for his colleague Marples. Capitalist 'planning'. Pour out anything that is easy to multiply on mass-production lines; then employ a vast apparatus to sell it and fabricate a demand by slick publicity; but do not, repeat, do not produce what people need. Raise up the towering speculative luxury office blocks to reach the sky; but leave the people homeless, since it is not clear which authority is really responsible for the homeless; and let the young married couples abandon hope of a home, squeeze in with their parents, or pig it in overcrowded costly digs. Plan to build 90 new hospitals in the next ten years, but close down 1,250, and leave the provision worse than ever.

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'New slums are being formed faster than existing slums are being cleared' (*Observer*, August 5, 1962). But the construction of private luxury swimming pools at an average price of £5,000 apiece to add to the mansions of the rich is booming at a record rate of expansion. After all, it all goes to swell the Gross National Product and demonstrate the 'upward turn' in productivity and prove Tory capitalist 'prosperity'.

New 'Growth Industries'

Certainly there are new 'growth industries' breeding and burgeoning in the fruitful soil of the 'new capitalism'. Take, for example, one of the most important. Betting Shops—that great social reform of the Tory Government—whose luxurious premises now decorate every street in the island. No lack of capital and incentive and enterprise and expansion here.

BRITAIN'S NEWEST INDUSTRY—THE BETTING SHOP

> Created by the Betting and Gaming Act of 1960, betting shops have become big business on a scale that has outstripped all expectations. . . . With new shops opening at the rate of over 100 a week, the present total is reckoned to be between 15,000 and 20,000. Betting shops are the outstanding growth industry in the British economy at the present time.
>
> (*Sunday Telegraph*, September 9, 1962.)

Between the wars the *Economist* (November 20, 1937) could describe 'foreign investment' as 'the nation's greatest single industry'. Today we have reached new heights in the triumphant productive upsurge of Britain's ultra-modern 'contemporary capitalism' (how well Strachey caught the current fashion-jargon in naming his book). Betting shops have become 'the outstanding growth industry in the British economy'. Not to mention the luxury casinos for the rich and the lavish redecoration of 44, Grosvenor Square by the Aspinalls. The Tory Government, who have simultaneously in their tireless reforming zeal cleared the streets, thereby ensuring the maximum profitability of the call-girl racket, carried special legislation to facilitate the proliferation of obscene literature (always in the name of the highest 'enlightenment' amid the delighted yelps of the highbrows) and sought to extend drinking hours until the publicans themselves rebelled, have never lacked loving care to provide for the lighter requirements of the people in a period of danger of social unrest, just as their predecessors sought to drown the anxieties of the first onset of the Industrial Revolution in a flood of cheap gin.

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Prisons and 'Juvenile Delinquency'

Of course there are other expanding 'industries'. On December 14 the B.B.C. in its customary weekly 'Careers' announcements proclaimed: 'Why not join the Prison Service? Excellent prospects. A rapidly expanding service. Security guaranteed. Big programme of new prisons planned'. In the Soviet Union they are closing down prisons for lack of inmates. Here the press has announced 'the biggest prison building programme since the eighteen-forties'. The Royal Commission on the Police reported in 1960: 'The country has never in its history had so many policemen as there are now'. The proportion now is 1 per 700 of the population, as against 1 per 800 in the stormy year 1849. The apostles of Hiroshima turn up the whites of their eyes to complain of the growth of violence and crime and 'juvenile delinquency'. Let the Tory rulers of society rejoice in their own handiwork. The wonder is not that some youngsters should ape their elders in violence and promiscuity. The wonder is that the overwhelming majority of young people, blocked at every turn by the conditions of existing society, confronted by a society of high-placed crime and violence and egoism and cut-throat do-the-other-fellow-down and all the rest of the bestial Tory ruling class ethic, should yet be so undaunted and freshly eager and resolute to struggle against tough odds to make something of their lives; often also to help their mates, and sometimes even, forgive us all, with such means as are in their power, if only with badges and marches and sit-downs at first, to try to make the world a better place. In that spirit is the hope of the future, of a better Britain.

Two Paths for the World

In this year 1963 we are indeed at a moment of choice equally for Britain and for the world. Can the negotiated compromise on Cuba be followed by extending negotiated compromises on other issues and danger-points, until the nightmare of a new world war with nuclear weapons, which still hangs so heavy on the consciousness of mankind and throttles progress, could begin to recede and give place to a new framework of international relations such as could make nuclear disarmament a practical possibility? Dare we hope that the present Kennedy-Khrushchov exchanges may pave the way to fruitful negotiations? Or will the type of policy expressed in the recent public utterances of Acheson, the policy of 'strength' to seek to impose by military threats the Adenauer objective for the expansion of the frontiers of Neo-Nazi Western Germany as part of

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the Atlantic Bloc, prevail in the counsels of the West? That path means war. The whole socialist world seeks peace. The Soviet Union has proved it over Cuba. China has proved it with the voluntary unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal of troops to make possible negotiations. The Afro-Asian countries have shown their desire for peace by their messages imploring India to enter on the path of negotiations. Peace and peaceful co-existence is the universal desire of the peoples all over the world. 1963 will see the most fateful decisions to govern the path towards these aims.

New Future for Britain

Equally for Britain 1963 will prove a year of decision. The choice on the Common Market will have to be made. This choice is no limited economic decision or experiment of a temporary regional alliance. It will involve the whole present international alignment of Britain, and ultimately the survival of Britain as an independent State. The alternative to the Common Market (and the chances of defeating it have grown) is not and cannot be the *status quo*. It will require a new international orientation of Britain, breaking the bonds of subjection to the United States and West Germany and the ignominious role of a nuclear target for destruction, and stepping forward to lead the fight for peaceful co-existence and international economic co-operation. It will mean to link the economy of Britain in fruitful equal interchange through long-term contracts, not only with the Commonwealth countries, but with all the expanding economies of the new world that is sweeping forward, the socialist countries and the newly independent countries. This will restore the independence of Britain and defeat all the Achesons.

'Planning'—For Whom?

Such aims can only be won by the political fight within Britain. But the fulfilment of these aims is also the indispensable condition for progressive social advance inside Britain. The manifest bankruptcy of present policies and of the present economic situation has led even the Tories to make a hasty switch from their previous glorification of 'Free Enterprise' (that is, jungle freedom for the monopolies) and 'Conservative Freedom Works' to the noisy proclamation of their new gospel of 'Planning'. But what do they mean by 'Planning'? Not for the needs of the people. Look back to the paragraph 'Muddle of the Mixed-Up Economy' to see some illustration of the cruel mockery of Tory 'planning' from the standpoint

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of the people. They want 'planning', not for the needs of the people, but for greater profits of the monopolies at the expense of the needs of the people—to attack standards and lower labour costs in the name of 'planning' (Neddy and Nick).

Towards the Victory of the People

The economic-political battles of the coming year on the domestic front in Britain will turn on the two associated questions of (1) the Common Market, and (2) the menace of the economic situation, with unemployment, redundancy dismissals, the Government's economic offensive and the smooth-tongued Tory trick to cover this offensive with talk of 'planning'. The strength of resistance to this offensive by the trade union and labour movement will be essential for victory in the political field. It is not enough to meet the Tory talk of 'planning' with parallel demands for 'planning' *within capitalism*. What is true of Tory capitalist 'planning' is in the end true of all so-called smooth-tongued thimblerig three-card-trick 'planning' of capitalism by capitalism for capitalism, whether it wears a Tory or a professed 'Labour' label (in practice the same bureaucrats, commuting between their top seats in the Civil Service and on the Boards of the big monopolies, would operate it), so long as the key big monopolies are left in possession. Hence the necessity to advance to a new programme, which does not merely speak of 'planning', but sets the aim to take directly into public ownership the big monopolies as the indispensable foundation for any serious planning. Such a programme, alongside the essential aims in the international field, is set out in the Draft Political Resolution submitted for discussion for the coming Communist Congress. The questions are of common concern to the whole labour movement. 1963 sets the task for the whole labour movement to unite, together with all the growing numbers of people among all sections who recognise the necessity for a change in the direction of affairs, in order to speed a general election, ensure the defeat of the Tory Government and advance to the fight for the fulfilment of the new programme which the present situation so urgently requires.

December 17, 1962 R.P.D.

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Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

BATTLE FOR JOBS

Leo McGree*

ON Guy Fawkes Day, November 5, 1962, seven hundred workers travelled on the midnight 'Scousers' Special', to march through the streets of London and lobby the Members of Parliament, demanding work for Merseyside. It was the most appropriate date for visiting the House of Commons; but this time it was to expose the plight of some 40,000 workless.

Liverpool is the gateway to Lancashire and the barometer of each economic crisis. The closures of the cotton mills, the pits, and the railways are all reflected by unemployment amongst the dockers and seamen, engineers and shipbuilders. Figures are used to prove that the unemployment crisis is only a temporary, difficult phase which will soon pass. But these figures have been steadily rising over the past two years; and the workers have also risen, to demand more work be brought to Merseyside.

What are the true figures? Dockers and seamen who are unemployed are not counted in the grand total of workless; they come under the Dock Labour scheme, or are established seamen. Official figures are counted as 37,000 on the dole, or 5·6 per cent of the population. One-third of this number have to also apply for National Assistance. Over 3,000 are under 18 years of age; 68 out of every 1,000 men unemployed; 36 out of every 1,000 women unemployed; and 40 men for every vacant job. One-third of the jobless of the whole of the North-West is on Merseyside. There are 80,000 officially designated slums—and over 4,000 building workers on the dole. Some 6,000 shipyard workers are without a job. These figures give a brief picture of the position, but no one can give the correct figure of those who 'got out', migrated south.

This was the reason we marched to London, accompanied by police and the TV cameras, so that in every part of Britain people could hear the slogan: 'We want work'.

Take shipbuilding. We have a great shipbuilding yard at Cammell Lairds, Birkenhead, and some of the most modern docks for ship repair. Five years ago, this yard had an order book of 7 million tons. Today, apart from twelve months' work for the Admiralty, no orders have been placed. Having spent £15 million on modern-

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isations, they are now, for the first time in history, building ships without a customer, and are selling ships 'off the peg'. The firm have issued a brochure of the ships they have for sale, advertising standardised vessels at 15 per cent to 20 per cent reduction for cash. We are selling our ships like soap powder: 'Buy your tanker this week, 4d. a ton off'. In their desperation for orders, Cammell Lairds have decided that 'the Russians are important people to be well in with' (*Observer*, December 2, 1962) and if the trade delegation decided not to visit Merseyside the firm would go to London to meet them. Well, well, the sky is black with birds coming home to roost. In 1954 the Russian Government requested the shipbuilders of this country to build them 95 ships, but because of the Yankee Battle Act this order was refused. Today more ships are built in foreign yards for British shipowners than are built in this country. So much for the patriotic British shipowner.

Then, the building industry. Four thousand building workers living on 57s. 6d. per week dole—and thousands living in condemned houses. We are building two great Cathedrals in which we can worship the Almighty; great commercial buildings to house the football pool promoters (Littlewoods and Vernons); our dance halls and cinemas are being turned into bingo shrines; we have even got ten-pin bowling alleys. But not sufficient homes, hospitals and schools. What an indictment of this Government! They think: if it is profitable, then we can build; but if it is in the interest and welfare of the people, then we cannot build.

The City Council leaders went over to Paris to study the building of pre-cast dwellings to assist in the clearing of the slums. I have heard many excuses for visiting Paris, but this is the best one advanced for years. During the most favourable building periods this year, 4,000 are idle. We had money, land, materials and labour, but the City fathers were in Paris studying the latest gimmicks for 'slum clearance'.

Our youth are the worst victims of the present Government's policy. The more positive proposals of the Carr report have been studied, pigeonholed and now forgotten. The parents of the children today skimp and save to permit them to stay at school until they are 16 years of age, in the hope this will prevent them taking blind alley jobs and that they will be able to secure an apprenticeship and a trade. But such is not the case. They cannot find the work. In March 1958, the Liverpool Lord Mayor convened a meeting of representatives of local authorities, industry

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and commerce and other interested parties to discuss the problem of providing adequate employment for the school-leavers between 1960 and 1964. This meeting passed a resolution to hand the problem over to the Merseyside Development Committee and submitted their report on December 14, 1959.

What were the main findings of this report?

Firstly: what is the cause of unemployment?

Answer: 'Comparatively there is not only a high rate of unemployment, but also a high birth rate—that is to say, less jobs for more people. This to us is undoubtedly the most serious and important aspect of the whole problem'. But by the same logic it could be the 'low death rate'.

In this scientific age we have too many children. Our drug houses are marketing pills to keep down the population (and keep up profits). While in the Socialist countries every child born is an addition to the production power of that country, under capitalism it is another unwanted mouth to feed.

This report was not entirely barren of proposals for *solving* the problem of finding work for the youth of Merseyside. They had two recommendations:

1. *To sponsor a recruitment campaign for Her Majesty's Services.*

During the two World Wars, unemployment was our greatest recruiting sergeant. In these days they joined the Army to eat, not to fight. Today they put up for Parliament, not to get in, but to get out. So if the youth cannot get a job in industry, they can join the forces. Not a very original idea. The second recommendation of note was about as original as the first.

2. *'We suggest that serious consideration should be given by Commonwealth Governments desirous of stimulating emigration from this country, so as to encourage as many suitable young people as possible to accept the advantages that are offered by such Commonwealth countries.'*

What a prospect! So the youth can perhaps go to South Africa and maybe work for Cyril Lord, who has just left Lancashire and closed his factories for the cheap labour of the Commonwealth.

The Town and Planning Association have just issued a plan entitled *The Future Development of the North-West*. It says:

> there is a case for giving some financial aid or tax concessions to all firms which develop in the North of England in such a way as to promote economic growth there, and check the migration southwards.

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We are to continue the practice of bribing the wealthy industrialist to come and build in the development area. To get the employers to spread their enterprises to the North, it must be made worth their while. This is indeed the meaning of Tory freedom to develop; which roughly translated means, grab what you can. Of the 750 Industrial development schemes already approved for Merseyside, only 552 have been completed: of the 103,000 jobs estimated to result from this expansion, only 44,000 have materialised.

The urgent need at this moment is to increase the purchasing power of the working class: better wages, benefits and pensions would result in big improvements in the demand for consumer goods. So increase the pension of our aged people, and relieve the $4\frac{1}{2}$ million of them who today live in want and misery. Cut the huge expenditure of war preparation and use the money saved to provide local authorities with low interest loans for houses, schools, hospitals and roads, and to scrap and rebuild all ships over twenty years old. End the embargo on East-West trade and give Britain her rightful independence to trade with all countries who desire to trade with us. Assist the under-developed countries to build up their economy by sending them not arms but technical equipment.

This was the policy behind the Merseyside Lobby to Parliament. This is the policy that can bring an end to the Tory rule in Britain.

SHIPBUILDING AND BRITISH ECONOMY

Ted Williams*

THE state of shipbuilding is an important sign of the strength or weakness of the economy of Britain. Not only has it a big contribution to make itself; when British industry and trade is in decline, it directly affects shipping and shipbuilding before long.

Britain's economy is slowing down, and each day more and more showing its inability to develop, under its melancholy succession of Tory governments in the last twelve years.

A warning signal is the present state of shipbuilding and ship-repairing, with yards closing down, many stopped or on their last

*As many of our readers will know, Mr. E. S. Williams is a member of the Executive Council of The United Society of Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Shipbuilders and Structural Workers and is responsible for the important District No. 5, which includes London.—Ed., *L.M.*

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contract. What is the outlook? And since joining the Common Market would not improve the prospect, what should be done?

First, the hard facts. The Shipbuilding Conference announce statistics each quarter of new orders booked, their estimated value, tons gross laid down, fitting out, on the berths or completed.

	Third quarter Tons Gross	First nine months Tons Gross
1961	160,000	502,000
1962	34,000	317,000

Although new orders booked each quarter give some basis for comparison, the figure which really tells a shipbuilding worker the shape of things to come is the Total Order Book.

Total Order Book at the twelve months ending September

	Tons Gross
1958	5,953,000
1959	4,473,000
1960	3,494,000
1961	2,791,000
1962	2,147,000

Even September 1958 was a steep fall from eighteen months earlier; for at March 31, 1957, there had been 6,741,000 tons gross on the order book. Today it is less than one-third that figure. What is more, the speed of decline has increased, as is shown by comparing the total orders at the end of the past eleven quarters:

Total Order Book at the end of each quarter

1960	Tons Gross
March	4,044,000
June	3,780,000
September	3,494,000
December	3,348,000
1961	
March	3,080,000
June	2,962,000
September	2,791,000
December	2,597,000
1962	
March	2,460,000
June	2,283,000
September	2,147,000

There were already disquieting features a year ago: for during the later months an unusually large number of orders had been cancelled—15 ships of 179,000 tons gross in 1961; contracts for

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large passenger ships had come to an end, most of the new orders were for tankers, and only a low proportion were placed for British owners. This year the disquieting features have multiplied: there were 1,111,000 tons completed and only 563,000 new orders, lower than of recent years.

Unless there is a big increase in orders from British owners, things will become progressively worse: for throughout the world both in shipping and shipbuilding there is excessive capacity. The latest quarter's figures for British yards brings out how severe is this consistent depression in shipping.

According to the Shipbuilding Advisory Report (published on April 19, 1961, on the prospects of British shipbuilding) the annual capacity of British shipyards was 1,600,000 tons gross and it was utilised to the extent of 1,400,000 annually for the previous five years. For the years 1961 to 1965 the expected total was set at only 4,760,000 or 952,000 tons annually. On present orders it would seem by no means certain that even this will be utilised.

What does this mean in unemployment? According to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* for October, in Great Britain there were 10,000 less workers employed in shipbuilding and shiprepairing at the end of September 1962 than the previous September: in mid-September 1962 the total unemployed in the industry was already 10,985, without taking into account the shipyards of Northern Ireland, which would mean well over another 1,250. But since then the position has worsened. For example, shortly before Christmas it was announced that some 1,400 Clyde shipyard workers were to be paid off because the Simons-Lobnitz yard at Renfrew was being bought up by a rival firm in order to close it down. British shipyard workers will never forget the creation and operation by financial interests of that instrument of economic destruction, the Shipbuilding Securities Ltd. This organisation was established during the recessions of the 'twenties and 'thirties for the purpose of buying up alleged uneconomic shipyards and then closing them down as a step towards the declared aim of a prosperous and competitive industry. Thousands of this country's finest shipyard workers were thrown out of work then by these closures, and left to walk the streets in a hopeless search for alternative work.

But nothing is inevitable, not even disaster. History shows that shipyard workers in Britain have learned to take through their trade union and political organisations, steps to ensure that improvements in working conditions, shorter hours and longer holiday periods

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are progressed whenever possible and defended whenever the profit god looks in their direction for a sacrificial contribution to his insatiable appetite. Before coming to the question of what can and should be done, let us look briefly at what entering the Common Market might have to offer the industry.

Is this an organisation aimed at expanding world-wide trade? On the contrary. It puts a tariff wall round a small number of West European countries. In the words of the Labour Party Statement adopted by last year's Annual Conference at Brighton:

> the apparent unwillingness of the Six to pay due regard to the economic problems of the hundreds of millions of desperately poor people in the Asian and African Commonwealth countries, raises most seriously the question of whether they are basically an inward-looking or an outward-looking community.

One might well be justified from this to conclude that the Six are very definitely an inward-looking community, with little if any regard for the problems of the wider world. Dependent as our shipbuilding industry is on world-wide as opposed to limited regional trade we must be concerned with the problems of economically backward countries, who in the world's tomorrow may well be our biggest customers. The British people must not allow themselves to be dragged into a community which is unresponsive to the plight of the under-developed countries; to do so would be taking a step away from the establishment of socialism which alone can finally resolve our economic difficulties, and under which an unprecedented world-wide expansion of production and trade can take place.

For many years our shipyard workers have urged Governments to enact legislation to ensure British ships being built in Britain. Many deputations have visited M.P.s at the House of Commons to demand that a halt should be called by the Government to the practice of British shipowners having vessels built and repaired on the Continent. They have argued that charity begins at home and are very mindful of the subsidies and other measures of relief afforded continental shipyards as compared with our own unsubsidised industry. Entry into the Common Market would mean that owing to the Treaty of Rome providing that governments in the E.E.C. shall not take any action which would restrict 'free competition', British shipyard workers would be practically defenceless against any steps shipowners might take to place orders in those yards within the Market Area which were capable of so-called 'economic' production. There can be little doubt that in such circumstances our shipyard workers would be exposed to demands

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from employers for ever more concessions on wages and working conditions to achieve the goal of 'efficient working' which long ago they came to understand means reducing earnings *pro rata* to increased output.

Last July the Schleiker shipbuilding, steel and iron combine failed, after four years of active participation by Western Germany in the Common Market. Its failure caused a shudder of alarm in West Germany. Subsidies in one form or another are still provided by the Governments of countries signatory to the Treaty of Rome to their shipbuilding industries: according to report, the Schleiker shipyards despite their failure have orders to keep them fully employed until the end of 1963. Obviously, Britain's shipyards, unsubsidised as they are, entering the Market would herald an era of unparalleled hardship for the workpeople in the industry. Indeed, if the Schleiker yard could fail, with interchangeability and mobility of labour an accepted practice, what a bleak future would face British yards where higher earnings prevail and strict lines of trade practices operate. The *Rheinische Post* commenting on the Schleiker failure asked whether West Germany's industries were moving into a 'profitless phase', warning trade unions against a policy of higher wages and shorter hours, which might end by putting many of the population out of work. How do the Common Market countries propose to deal with the problem of trade recession, entering the 'profitless phase', or as the shipyard worker experiences this phenomenon, plain unemployment? According to M. Robert Marjolin, Vice-President of the E.E.C. Commission reporting to a press conference, the Commission had no clear-cut plan of action, only a vague recommendation 'to make a common approach to the difficulties of the shipbuilding industry'. Of course, the Treaty provides for the 'free movement' of labour within the Market Area; it does not provide for the policy of full employment. Britain's shipyard workers have over the past century experienced many occasions on which employers have attempted to introduce labour from distant areas to cut wages and hinder resistance by the trade unions to any worsening of conditions of employment. They will not permit employers once again to resort to such tactics.

British shipbuilders have naught to gain—but much to lose if our Commonwealth countries, with whom our ships carry out a continuous marine conveyor belt service in supplying large quantities of this country's necessities of life, are to be cut off and abandoned for the doubtful privilege of competing in a European Common

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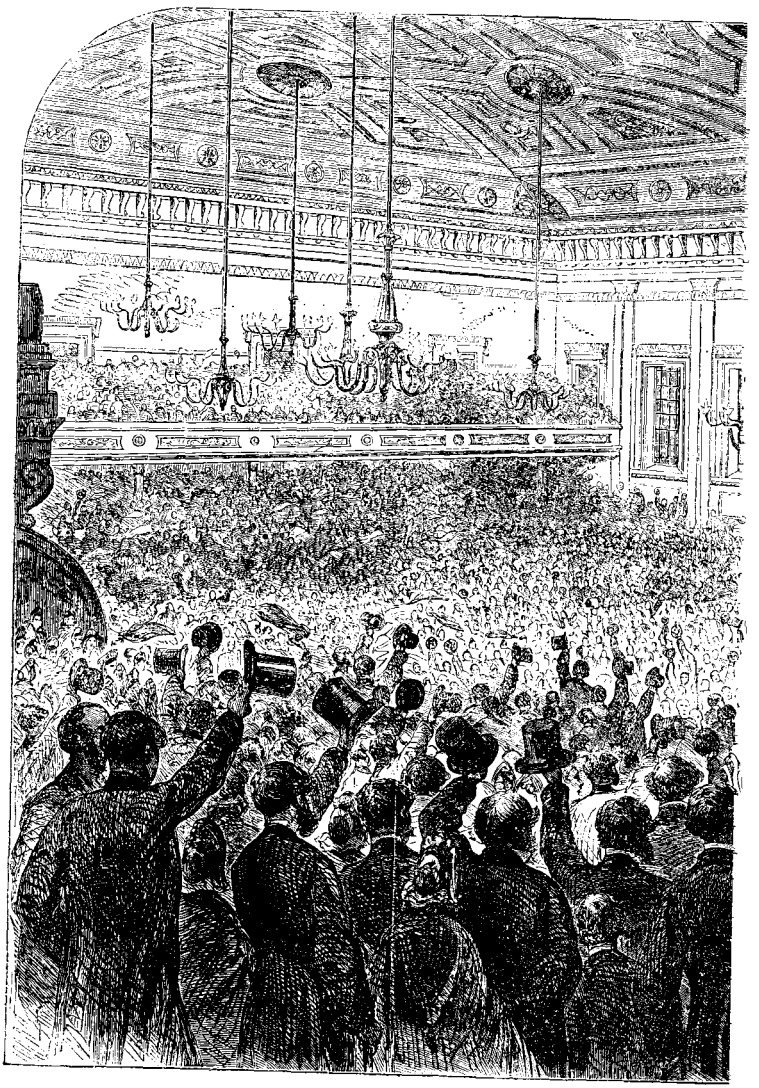
A Great Anti-Slaver



In the American Civil War, the industrialist North had suffere reverses at the hands of the Southern slave-owners, until Presiden Abraham Lincoln finally declared for Emancipation, to be effectiv without compensation from January 1, 1863. In Britain the exampl of support shown by the Lancastrian cotton operatives was followe

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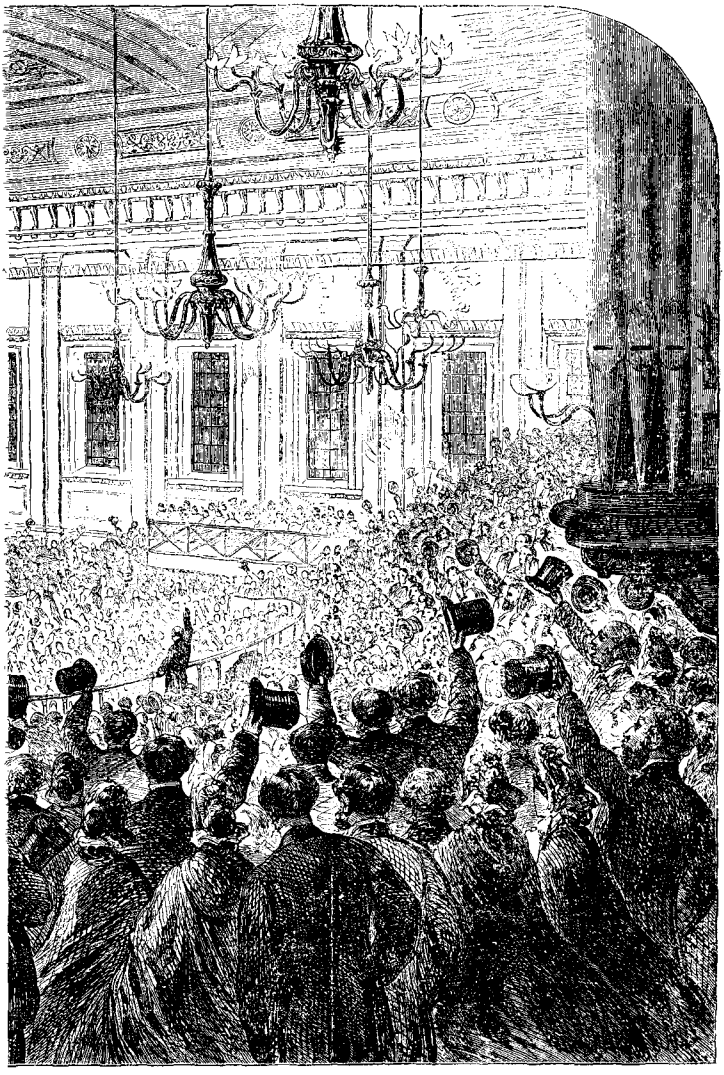
)emonstration, 1863



y other sections when a new 'Emancipation Society' was set up and eld immense meetings in Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford and sewhere. This wildly enthusiastic demonstration was held at Exeter all, London, on January 29, 1863—just one hundred years ago this onth.

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Market. This would indeed be surrendering the substance of work already enjoyed in the maintenance and development of our marine contacts with the Commonwealth, for the illusory shadow of obtaining orders in Western Europe, under difficult conditions.

Meanwhile take a look at American aspirations. On October 11, 1962, the Trade Expansion Act was signed by President Kennedy and became law. This Act gives the administration powers to trade off tariffs in international negotiations, and turn towards freer world trading arrangements, which will enable her to exploit her lead in industrial mass production and in modern agriculture. America also intends to help herself to the Commonwealth market. There would be little prospect of British shipyard workers participating in maintaining any American ships required to handle the estimated increase of American trade with Europe and the Commonwealth. The protective barrier that America has erected around its marine fleet is only too well known by shipyard workers in Britain, who daily witness very minor repairs being executed in our docks upon American vessels, whose owners are compelled by their own regulations to have major repairs carried out in U.S. shipyards.

British shipyard workers must say 'No' to the Common Market. Instead, they should press the government to extend credits to enable British yards to compete with those overseas. They should encourage a policy of 'Scrap and Re-build' all older ships. And above all, shipyard workers should take every step to hasten the end of the present Tory Government whose policies, or lack of them, has so reduced the economic position of our country, that before the world we now appear to be begging entry into the Market. We should be standing free, committed only to a policy of peace and progress.

ALL WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS ARE PESSIMISTS

The respectable critics have been very much down on Ibsen's play of *A Doll's House,* now being acted at the Novelty Theatre, and profess to be shocked. . . . I note the critics say that Ibsen's plays are pessimistic; so they are—to pessimists; and all intelligent persons who are not Socialists are pessimists. But the representation of the corruption of Society carries with it in Ibsen's works aspirations for a better state of things, and that is not pessimism. Therefore Socialists recognise in them another token of the new dawn. (William Morris, in *Commonweal,* June 22, 1889.)

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WEST GERMAN SCANDAL TRIAL

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

ON November 29, 1962, the hearing began in West Berlin, outside the territories of West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany), before an Administrative Court of West Germany, of proceedings initiated as long ago as October 20, 1959, by the then Minister of the Interior, an ex-Nazi named Schroeder (now Foreign Minister), calling for the banning of the V.V.N. (Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution), on the allegation that it is 'contrary to the Constitution'. The hearing had already been postponed on two occasions, on one of which it was revealed that the government attorney in charge of it had been an active Nazi jurist.

One Dr. Werner was the President of the Court on that November 29; he was a Nazi, having joined the S.A. (Brown Shirts) in 1933 and the N.S.D.A.P. (the Nazi Party) in 1937; he had held an important legal-educational post under the Nazi régime, had been active in the V.A.D. (organisation of Germans abroad), the foreign limb of Nazi militarist aggression, and in his thesis for his doctorate in 1934 he had eulogised the Nazi 'mission'.

Even without the disclosures about Dr. Werner, this proceeding has shocked millions of people everywhere, especially, I am happy to record, in West Germany itself; it had been mainly West German resistance that brought about the earlier postponements. The proceeding has shocked me too, but it has not surprised me, for I know the ruling-class and government of West Germany too well to be surprised by anything that they do to revive or encourage Nazis, or to destroy democracy.

At the opening of the second day of the hearing, on November 30, a West German Communist (ex-Communist, to be accurate; for the Communist Party is amongst the many democratic and anti-Nazi organisations banned and dissolved by the West German government and its courts) rose in open court and denounced Dr. Werner as a Nazi, giving full and accurate details. This denunciation created a sensation, for Dr. Werner's past was not generally known; and it threw the Court into great confusion. After some hurried telephone conversations with Bonn, one of which appropriately enough was with State Secretary Globke (a Nazi with an exceptionally black record, retained by Dr. Adenauer in a confidential position in the face of growing public pressure, inspired largely by the

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V.V.N.), the court adjourned for a week; and even before that week had passed it announced a further indefinite adjournment.

What is at the bottom of this case? What exactly is the V.V.N.? What is the substance of the charge against it? What is the nature of the government of the new and powerful Nato state of West Germany, and of the ruling-class which it serves? And why do they stage this hearing far outside their own territories?

First, the V.V.N. It is an organisation to which any German should be proud to belong, for it comprises those who suffered under the Nazis or who fought against Nazism, within or outside Germany, in the resistance movement. It was founded in 1947, with the express approval of all four occupying Powers; it had a 'Praesidium' of distinguished Germans; amongst its members was Dr. Adenauer. (He resigned a few years later, alleging that it had been 'captured by Communists'. In reality he left because it was plainly opposed to the militarist and aggressive policies he was going to pursue; its leadership when he left was substantially the same as it was when it was founded, and it is substantially the same today. It has never been even mainly Communist.)

Most of the members of the V.V.N. spent long periods in the concentration camps and prisons of Hitler; they constituted the political cream of the German people in the twelve disgraceful and terrible years of Nazi barbarism, risking their lives to fight it. Thus they both redeemed as far as they could the honour of the German people and greatly helped the anti-Fascist struggle of the allied nations. Its members were—and could scarcely not be—of every variety of political opinion, with the one common link that they all opposed Nazism. Perhaps half of them were Communists, for half at least of those Germans whose courageous resistance qualified them for membership were Communists.

It should be—and it is—a cause for pride to belong to the V.V.N. It should be a matter of pride for the government of West Germany to protect and encourage the organisation, and it is in truth the binding duty of that government to do so; it is a body of exactly the kind covered by the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement which establish the legality of such organisations and call for their protection and encouragement; and the Potsdam Agreement is part of International Law which, by the very Constitution which the V.V.N. is accused of infringing, is made an integral part of the law of Germany.

The objects of the V.V.N. were and are to secure compensation

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for victims of Nazi persecution, to achieve the root and branch destruction of Nazism and militarism in Germany, to build up a new democratic Germany under the rule of persons untainted by militarism and Nazism, and to educate young Germans in a spirit of militant anti-Fascist democracy. These objects are in faithful accordance with the Potsdam Agreement—and are anathema to the present rulers of West Germany.

Next, what is the charge against the V.V.N., to establish that it is not fit to live? And what are the true reasons for the move? And what other organisations are sought to be implicated?

The charge is based on the assertion that the V.V.N. offends against Article 9 of the West German Constitution; this Article proclaims the right of all Germans to form organisations, and adds that organisations 'whose objects or activities . . . are directed against the constitutional order or the conception of international friendship (*Volkerfreundschaft*) are prohibited'. Now, the Constitution, surprisingly enough in the light of the activities of the government, is full of noble sentiments; it talks of the liberation of the German people from Nazism, and it expressly condemns and makes criminal as contrary to the Constitution all activities calculated and intended to disturb the peaceful co-existence of peoples, including any preparations for aggressive war. It is not even content with that; in its Preamble, it proclaims the responsibility of the German people before God and man, and their determination, to serve the peace of the world in a united Europe. (It seems that amongst the many fields in which the British ruling class can no longer claim to lead the world is that of pious hypocrisy.)

The assertion that the V.V.N. is anti-Constitutional is based on the lie that it is 'under Communist influence'—ever-ready substitute for argument. No unlawful action is alleged—nothing but political opinion and control. (Just to add a further touch of hypocrisy, the Constitution expressly provides for freedom of expression of opinion, with no limitations beyond the 'provisions of the general law, and laws for the protection of youth and of personal honour'.)

There is little doubt that the real motive of the attack on the V.V.N. is to silence its consistent opposition to the militarist policies of re-armament and atomic armament, and its exposure of the hordes of Nazis in high office, with whom I will deal below; it is noteworthy that government hostility was greatly intensified after its campaign against Oberlaender and Globke. It is ironical that a body with such activities should be charged with offending against the Con-

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stitution, which by incorporating the Potsdam Agreement prohibited just those activities of the government which the V.V.N. is attacking; it is in truth the ruling-class, with its militarist chauvinist aggressive policies that should be in the dock as anti-Constitutional.

It is significant that the Government is not content with attempting to murder only the V.V.N. It seeks also in the same proceedings to affect at least two other bodies. Firstly, it aims to prohibit all activity in Germany of the F.I.R. (Fédération Internationale de Résistants), the great federation of some forty resistance organisations in various countries. It thus seeks to cut off its citizens (these victims of neo-Nazi persecution) from all links with the survivors of the heroic struggles of those liberating, democratic, anti-fascists who earned our undying gratitude in underground and resistance movements. It seems that this ruling class and government has travelled so far along the neo-Nazi road that it cannot even let its people know anything of the history of anti-Nazism either in Germany or outside, lest they draw unfavourable conclusions about their own Government.

The other body affected is a publishing house, the Rodenberg Verlag, of Frankfurt on Main. This is sought to be banned as being under V.V.N. control. It is in fact an independent firm, in no sense belonging to or controlled by the V.V.N. It has published material for the V.V.N., and it has published a good deal of other books with a healthy anti-Nazi tendency; in particular, it publishes the weekly *Die Tat,* which played a leading part in the ultimately successful campaign against Oberlaender. The government plainly cannot endure anyone who reminds it of the anti-Fascist activities of the German people in the past, and thus of the Fascist activities of many of its officials and its ruling-class. Bluntly, it is by now Nazi, and hates all anti-Nazis. (One need scarcely add that, while this concern is sought to be banned, a large number of openly Nazi publishing houses go their way unmolested.)

Next, what of this ruling class and its government? I have already given some glimpses of it, but we must have a closer view.

West Germany is ruled by the same group of finance-capitalist monopolists who ruled Germany before and during the Hitler period, and who picked out Hitler to do their work for them. They are not nice people; one bunch of them, for example, ran Auschwitz as a profitable source of industrial slave-labour, and took a side profit on the supply of the poison gas which was used on the no-longer-exploitable victims. Even richer than they were under Hitler,

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even more highly concentrated, even more powerful, and just as ruthless, they have been taken out of prisons by the British and Americans, given back their power and their possessions, and left to run their country. That is the ruling class which the Adenauer government serves; naturally enough, its whole governmental machine, ministries, army and navy, courts, police and schools are permeated with Nazis. Amongst Ministers themselves, there were above all Oberlaender and Globke, two men with black Nazi pasts so well-known that I need not describe them here. The campaign to root out Oberlaender lasted for many months, growing larger and larger, until even the stubborn 'fox' Adenauer had to give way and dismiss him (shortly afterwards giving him another good but less prominent post). When I asked a sober-minded German liberal lawyer in 1959 why Adenauer did not just get rid of Oberlaender, he replied that he was keeping him in order to retain the large Nazi vote for his party! (It may have been, too, that the ruling class would not lightly let the man be sacked.) The campaign against Globke has not yet succeeded; as we have seen, he was still available on the telephone on November 30 to deal with the crisis of Dr. Werner.

In the ministries at various levels, there are not only many Nazis, but not a few members of the S.S. which the Nuremberg tribunal declared to be a criminal organisation. About 80 per cent of the personnel of the Foreign Office, including the Minister, are Nazis.

As for the new 'defence forces' and the police, all the 170 admirals and generals held high rank under Hitler; and when I spent some time in West Germany in 1959 to 1960, the executive head of the police force of *every* town in the large 'Land' of North-Rhine-Westphalia was an S.S. man.

In education, there are still many Nazi teachers; and all references to the traditions and victories of the working-class movement, to the crimes of the Nazis, and to the resistance struggles, have been removed from the school books, and replaced by accounts of the 'magnificent victories' of Hitler's armies in 1939-1942.

As for political or semi-political organisations, there are 1,100 'traditional unions' preaching chauvinism and militarism with the approval and even encouragement of the government; forty of them are openly and expressly S.S. bodies. There is not a single clearly anti-Fascist organisation left alive, *except* the V.V.N.

Then the judiciary; in spite of many exposures and consequent dismissals or retirements, there are still on the judicial benches

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1,100 men who, either as judges or as prosecutors, administered the savage Nazi laws, racial and otherwise. Nearly all of them have been parties to passing death sentences for trivial offences. (How would it feel for a member of the V.V.N. to come up before a judge in West Germany who was not just a Nazi like Dr. Werner but who had, say, sentenced a Jewess to death for handing a bit of bread to that V.V.N. man as the S.S. marched him through the streets?)

And even apart from their nurturing of Nazi officials, this government has systematically rooted out every fragment of civil liberty from their country; they have made a dirty word out of what they call 'extra-parliamentary criticism', *i.e.*, any criticism whatever made anywhere except in the parliament, where it can be controlled by the Whips and the Ministers; and they treat all serious criticism of their policies especially that of rearmament as equivalent to treason. The prosecution of *Der Spiegel*, which has fortunately created a great stir both in Germany and outside, is all of a piece with their treatment of hundreds of lesser victims. They have used their courts to prohibit as anti-Constitutional, or to persecute on other grounds, every democratic organisation in the country except the trade unions, who have so far been too strong to be attacked; but even these are now threatened under 'Emergency legislation'. The Communist Party, the peace movement, organisations of women and of youth, organisations seeking to hold a referendum on rearmament, and many others, have thus come under the axe.

In matters of policy, they not only preach all the anti-Soviet doctrines of Nato, but openly demand the recovery of all territories that were within Germany in 1939, and show these territories in their official maps as already part of the country. They proclaim that East Germany, the German Democratic Republic, which they still call 'the Soviet Occupation Zone', is not to be reunited but 'liberated'—a code word for conquest by military force. So little regard has Adenauer for any idea that the countries formerly allied against Germany might not like these expansionist ideas that as recently as November 5, 1962, he told his Press Conference in Washington that his government maintains its claim to those portions of Czechoslovakia which Chamberlain gave to Hitler in 1939. And any suggestion, even from America, that the Berlin question might be settled peacefully makes him very angry indeed, although he does not yet address Kennedy and Macmillan in the gutter language he habitually uses against his political opponents.

Lastly, why, as a sort of additional outrage, is this hearing to be

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held not in West Germany but in Berlin? It has been made clear many times, and is now beyond argument, that Berlin is no part of West Germany; and under international law no state has any power or right to conduct its judicial activities in any foreign country without the permission of the government of that country. It follows that in this case the governing authorities in Berlin, and more particularly the British government, in whose sector this court is sitting, are allowing this outrage, and are accomplices in it. Why have the West German government picked Berlin? Is it just insolence? It could be, for they have on many occasions shown as much contempt for foreign opinion as they have for common decency. But it is more probable that they are hoping to establish some legitimation—a sort of squatter's right—for a future claim to treat West Berlin as part of West Germany. And it is just possible that they feared that if it were staged in West Germany there might have been unpleasantly large demonstrations at the court. This makes it all the more important that our government here should be compelled to stop the performance.

It is a very healthy development that the proceedings have excited so much opposition both abroad and in Germany; and the unmasking of Dr. Werner and the obvious dilemma into which it has thrown the prosecution, leading to an indefinite adjournment which even if it should prove to be short involves great loss of face and gives the opposition time to rally more forces, is a very hopeful start. We can rely on the West German opposition, led by such figures as Dr. Niemoller, to carry on the fight in Germany; but we have our tasks here in Britain. We must put a stop to the toleration and encouragement of Nazis and Fascists; we must insist on our government not permitting this case to be heard in West Berlin; and we must get rid of Messrs. Macmillan *et hoc venom omne*.

LIBERAL PARTY POLICY

Katherine Hood

AN enthusiastic delegate at this year's Liberal Assembly went so far as to say that the Liberals were 'giving a new meaning to "Land of Hope and Glory".' This was clearly a bit of a floater. For the Liberals prefer their new 'image' to remain untarnished by jingoism from their Edwardian past. Rather should it be draped in talk about 'human values', 'people count', 'the chance to make a dream come true'.

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Whose dream? It is time for a careful answer to this question. For there is no doubt that the Liberal Party, the core of whose following is made up of disgruntled small businessmen and frustrated professional workers, is now gaining ground amongst wider circles —particularly among the generation too young to remember the Liberal past. The round of by-elections in November proved that the swing to the Liberals is persisting. In both the constituencies where Labour gained a seat—Woodside and South Dorset—the percentage of the votes polled by Labour actually went down. Labour won these seats because the Liberals took more votes from the Tories than from Labour.

The basic cause of the Liberal revival is, of course, massive discontent with the Tories. But in addition many of the new Liberal voters are genuinely moved by humane and progressive impulses; there is a healthy 'anti-establishment' mood involved. The sad thing is that the 'establishment' in their minds embraces not only the Government but Her Majesty's Official Opposition. This is the price we pay for Gaitskellism.

While Mr. Grimond scores debating points indiscriminately against official Tory and official Labour, the latter persist in replying that the Liberals have 'no policy'. This reply is not only inept, it happens to be untrue. And to get the Liberal voter to understand what he is actually voting for is the first step towards showing him that the cure for his discontents lies elsewhere.

Take first the crucial issue of our age—the H-bomb. There is a confused idea among certain C.N.D. supporters that on this question the Liberals are 'better than Gaitskell'. In practice the official policy of the Liberals is almost indistinguishable from that of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. George Brown. The Liberals want Britain to cease manufacturing British nuclear weapons, but they want Britain to stay in Nato and Nato to have nuclear weapons. And they want the Government to 'strengthen political control over the use of nuclear weapons within Nato'. On nuclear tests the Liberal Assembly wanted all tests to cease 'pending a further effort to reach agreement at the 18-Nations Conference'. But it *defeated* a resolution which declared opposition to all future nuclear tests by any nation.

Take the second crucial question of our age—that of Britain's entry into the Common Market. The Liberals are so keen on the Common Market they almost give the impression of having invented it; they were actively campaigning for Britain's entry two and a

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half years before the Tory Government decided to start negotiations for membership in 1961. The resolution on the subject adopted at the recent Liberal Assembly urges H.M. Government 'to indicate that it accepts the political and economic purposes which inspired the formation of the Community', and to press its negotiations for membership to a successful conclusion. Its resolution lays down no conditions whatever for British entry. The Rome Treaty is not only accepted lock, stock and barrel, but idolised:

> This Assembly, concerned with the inability of both Labour and Conservative Parties to grasp the full potentialities of the European Community, calls for vigorous efforts to achieve closer political unity in Europe.

To this end the resolution calls for a strengthening of the European Parliament 'by giving it greater powers and arranging for direct elections of its members'. Now it is perfectly true that one of the dangers seen by opponents of the Common Market is that decision-making rests in the hands of a bunch of non-elected bureaucrats, so that in one sense it is arguable that this Liberal proposition might represent some advance. However, the Liberals themselves are doubtful about actually achieving this reform. The mover of the resolution said: 'I do not say it should be elected tomorrow. It is an evolutionary process'. Whether or not such reforms are achieved, the Liberals are still prepared to bind themselves in chains to the Rome Treaty, insisting that this does not mean a surrender of British sovereignty but 'pooling' British sovereignty. Pooling with whom? Krupp and Co.? Only one other organisation shows the same enthusiasm for European political unity, and that is Sir Oswald Mosley's Union Movement. And it is time to underline that when Mr. Grimond makes his stirring appeal to the 'spirit of adventure' in young people, he is not talking about the spirit which imbues the space conquerors, or indeed that which causes young people to risk their liberty on the banks of Holy Loch; he is talking about the 'adventure' of making common cause with all the most dangerous and reactionary forces in Western Europe.

What do the Liberals have to offer the trade unionist? In case any young worker is under the impression that the Liberals offer a chance to break loose from the paralysing grip of the right-wing trade union leaders, it should be made clear that what the Liberals want is just what the right-wing trade union leaders are always seeking—closer ties with the boss. This 'forward-looking' aspiration is known among the Liberals as 'partnership'.

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Mr. George Scott who moved the resolution on 'a new industrial democracy' said that until now in the trade unions:

> too great an emphasis had been placed on winning wage increases whose real value was often negligible. The Liberal Party asked the unions to recognise that there were many other benefits of more lasting value that they should be seeking for their members.
>
> (*Guardian*, September 20, 1962.)

Foremost among these 'wider benefits' which the Liberals demand is a great extension of 'co-partnership' and 'employee-shareholding' schemes. There is, of course, nothing new about such schemes which have been ticking over here and there ever since the 'nineties. One advantage of them to an employer is that it is much easier to impose a cut in the dividend paid on employees' shares than it is to impose a wage cut. Thus the directors of I.C.I.—perhaps the leading example in this country of employee share-holding arrangements—decided last year that the amount being paid out in dividends on employee shares was more than could be justified 'having regard to a fair balance between stockholders and employees'; so the share-out has been revised—downwards. It seems that employee shares are not necessarily of such 'lasting value' after all. The second advantage of such schemes to the employer is that they can be used as a device for identifying the worker's interests more closely with the employer's and therefore undermining trade union activity for better wages and conditions. By co-ownership, said Mr. Banks, chairman of the Liberal Party Executive, 'much of the cause for suspicion between capital and labour, which holds up the establishment of a sensible national incomes policy, will be eliminated'. Get the idea?

An amendment was moved and carried in face of much opposition from the platform providing for employees to have the right to elect directors to a company's board. This indeed is a somewhat radical proposal. Can it be that the delegates were moved by grisly recollections of what happened to the employees of that pillar of the Liberal establishment, the *News Chronicle*? The survival of this proposal as a permanent Liberal policy is doubtful, as the *Guardian* tells us that it has produced a serious quarrel in the Party.

What do the Liberals offer the old age pensioner? At present retirement pensions are not enough to live on so that those who have no other additional source of income are obliged to apply to the National Assistance Board for supplementation after a means test. The Labour Party at its annual conference demanded that the standard pension should be at least equal to National Assistance—

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in other words old age pensioners would get as of right the amount they now get after a means test. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, are in favour of an unspecified increase in retirement pensions, together with a public campaign to prove that 'National Assistance Acts are part of the welfare services to which those in need are entitled as of right'. The Tories have been carrying out such a campaign for years: it has not made the means test popular.

What do the Liberals have to offer the homeless? A call at the Assembly from a Stepney delegate who wanted a programme of 500,000 new houses a year and the repeal of the Rent Act went unheeded. Instead delegates were told that the party's housing committee had decided that only a 'modest' increase in the total number of houses built annually would be necessary—the target would be 300,000 to 330,000 a year for England and Wales (about what the Tories were achieving in the mid-fifties). But the Assembly decided in favour of the abolition of 'indiscriminate' rent subsidies from local rates and the introduction of rent rebate schemes (in other words, means tests for council tenants) thus apparently trying to do by compulsion what every Tory Housing Minister has tried to do by persuasion for the last seven years.

And though much was said in debate about the uncontrolled spread of British cities and the need for regional planning, the conference ended with this sixteen-word clarion call:

> This Assembly categorically states that it is not in favour of the Nationalisation of the Land.

So much for official Liberal policy—it seems to bear little relation to the confused aspirations of the new Liberal rank and file, much of which in the localities is composed of well-meaning people whose civilised attitude contrasts favourably with that of the brash, go-getting ambitious young Tories to whom we are accustomed. But the fact is that the Liberal policy can hardly be other than it is. For the Liberals believe in capitalism and their policy is designed to keep capitalism going at a time when it is beginning to look a little frayed at the edges. And as we know inevitably under capitalism, 'freedom' becomes equated with 'free enterprise' and 'human values' are corrupted by the values of a profit-making system. The Liberal revival indeed presents Socialists with both a challenge and an opportunity.

To understand is hard. Once one understands, action is easy.

Sun Yat-Sen.

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GREECE AND THE COMMON MARKET

Costas Koliyannis *

[*On November 1, 1962, Greece became an associate member of the Common Market. At a time when the British Government is trying to push African countries of the Commonwealth into joining the Common Market as associate members, this analysis of the effect Greece's association on its economy and people is of special interest.—Ed.*, L.M.]

THERE can be no doubt about the results of Greece's association with the Common Market. The Greek economy will be increasingly at the mercy of West European monopolies.

In a speech before the Athens Chamber of Commerce in February, 1962, the Greek Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Mr. Papaligouras, admitted that the free movement of capital and labour inside the Common Market will create a state of 'open doors' and in this way it will be easy for the West European monopolies to infiltrate very quickly into all fields of Greek economy. West German capital, which is the leading force in the Common Market, is going to exploit these 'open doors' to the full, since it plans not only to acquire a predominant position in Greece itself, but also to use Greece for its penetration into the countries of the Near East. Indeed, as has been revealed by the Government daily newspaper *Kathimerini* of Athens on February 23, 1962,

> the policy of 'open doors' has been imposed on insistent suggestions emanating from abroad, and especially from Bonn.

This policy will allow West European capital to establish in Greece whatever industries it thinks most profitable. The expected onslaught of foreign monopolies has produced deep uneasiness among Greek businessmen. The 'Association of Greek Industrialists', the Athens and Piraeus Chambers of Commerce, the professional associations, the Organisations of Greek Artisans have demanded that Greek industrial enterprises and handicraft industries be protected from West European monopoly penetration, which will result from Greece's association with the Common Market.

They have every reason to be worried. Up to now Greek industry has been protected by very high import duties. But it will be unable to survive after the elimination of this protection, when West

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European industrial goods will be able to enter Greece freely. The Athens Chamber of Commerce has published a report in which it points out that after the protectionist import duties have been removed, 67,000 out of 142,000 workers employed by the most important Greek industrial enterprises will become redundant because over one-half of these enterprises will close down, unable to withstand foreign competition. 'All their machinery will have to be sold as scrap', says the report. This is likely to happen despite the fact that in the agreements concluded with the Common Market countries provision is made that Greece will be allowed to keep her duties on industrial imports for twenty-two years, so that Greek industry may have a chance to use this breathing space in order to become competitive with the industries of Western Europe.

Meanwhile, with the alleged aim of cutting down costs to make Greek industrial production more competitive a ruthless offensive is being waged against the standard of living of the working class. We are now witnessing mass dismissals of workers and a considerable drop in agricultural prices, whilst thousands of artisans (some 30,000 tailors and 8,000 shoemakers, for instance) are being threatened by the setting up of huge foreign industries for the production of ready-made clothes and shoes. Nobody believes in Greece that it will ever be possible under the present régime for Greek industry to catch up with that of West Germany, France or Italy in a matter of twenty-two years. Indeed, under the present rate of development Greek industry in twenty-two years' time will lag even more behind than it does today. One needs only to consider that productivity in Greek industry, agriculture and services is just one-third of that of the Common Market countries and that in 1960 new investments in West Germany amounted to £1,400 million, in France to £1,400 million, in Holland to over £1,050 million and in Greece only to £6 million. In fact, in terms of productivity and technology Greece lags fifty years behind.

Even before Greece had joined the Six, trade with the Common Market countries had been developing most unfavourably for her. Greek exports during the first nine months of 1961 amounted to £9 million against £12 million for the same period of 1960. Greek imports from the Common Market countries on the other hand, which were worth £50 million for the first nine months of 1960, increased to £61 million during the same period of 1961. The enormous trade gap between Greece and the Six increased during the above period from £41 to £49 million. One can well imagine

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to what catastrophic proportions it will further increase, with West European industrial goods entering free of import duties.

In recent years Greece's trade with the socialist countries has been developing very favourably. Greek exports went up from £10 million during the first nine months of 1960 to £11 million in the same period of 1961, whilst imports from Eastern Europe amounted to £13 million during the first nine months of 1961. Greece's association with the Common Market however will deal a heavy blow to this promising development. The first victim will be the trade between Greece and the German Democratic Republic. Indeed, protocol 4 of the agreement stipulates that West Germany

> has the right to control Greek trade agreements with German territories upon which it exerts no sovereign rights.

This means that Greece will not be able to trade with the G.D.R. without the permission of Bonn. Incidentally during 1961 Greek trade with the G.D.R. increased by 100 per cent.

The association with the Common Market will also impose restrictions upon Greece's trade with other countries as well. The relevant protocols state that before signing any trade agreement with third countries, Greece must first consult with the leaders of the Common Market. The Karamanlis Government alleges that Greece's association with the Common Market will benefit greatly her agriculture. This is patently untrue. Indeed, the Six have not been able yet to agree among themselves about a common agricultural policy. And anyway, they seem very reluctant to assist Greek agriculture. During the last few years Greece has exported to the Common Market countries, on an average, 25-30,000 tons of tobacco annually. The Six have now promised to continue to buy from Greece just the same amount. That is all. Greece produces some 500,000 tons of citrus fruit annually. The Common Market countries will allow us now to export to them not more than 22,000 tons each year. Italy exports to the Common Market some 150,000 tons of grapes annually and now can veto any further Greek export of grapes to the Six over a 15,000-ton limit.

Why then has the Karamanlis government decided to join the Common Market? It has done so under the strongest American pressure and also because Greece's ruling class and the present government try in exchange for association to secure from the West even stronger support for their reactionary régime.

The Greek people, however, oppose the association. Workers, peasants, artisans, businessmen, the middle class have come out

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strongly against any association with the Common Market, because it will mean the ruin of the Greek economy, and because they consider the Common Market as an instrument of cold war. Unfortunately not only the top leaders of the trade unions who are government agents, but also the political parties of the Centre have taken the same line as the Karamanlis administration. The Greek Communist Party, however, the Union of the Democratic Left (E.D.A.) and the Greek Agrarian Party (E.A.K.) have come out resolutely against the association with E.E.C. These parties support a policy of free trade with all countries and especially with the socialist states which are willing and able to assist Greece in her economic development without attaching any 'strings'.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL

The Rev. Canon S. Evans

THERE is a naïve view held by many people in Great Britain that the Roman Catholic Church is one homogeneous mass in which all think alike; and that this is particularly true of the clergy. The situation in this country where the Roman Church is a minority church and is therefore driven to greater cohesion has added strength to this view, although it has never been a true one and in countries where the Roman Catholic Church is the major one; just as the Church of England, it reflects within itself the contradictions of the country. Now, of course, 'the homogeneous mass' view is being completely destroyed by the Vatican Council, which demonstrates that there is no department of the life and activity of the Church upon which the most diverse views are not held by the Bishops themselves.

The election of Pope John XXIII was itself a sign of dissatisfaction among the Cardinals. Too many papal nephews held good jobs in the Vatican to encourage respect for the institution among those who were close to it and for a whole variety of reasons some change was essential and there can be no real doubt that John XXIII was elected as a moderate reformer. His first action was to increase the number of the College of Cardinals, increase the non-Italian element within it, and bring in Africa and Asia. His next step appears to have been unknown to all his colleagues, it was the announcement that he proposed to call an 'Ecumenical Council'.

Since the Council at Jerusalem recorded in the Acts of the Apostles the Church has been governed by Councils, Assemblies of

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Bishops with their advisors so that the whole world church has been able to take fundamental decisions. The Anglican Articles speak of 'General Councils' and this is the meaning of the phrase 'Ecumenical Council'. Since the growth of Church divisions, however, there has been no possibility of calling a real General Council of the whole Church and there is even disagreement as to which of the General Councils of the past are to be regarded as such, and which decisions are therefore to be counted as binding. Neither the Orthodox Church nor the Anglican Church, nor any of the Protestant Churches can regard this Vatican Council as Ecumenical.

The Roman Church has held three Councils since the Reformation: the Council of Trent (between 1545 and 1563), the Vatican Council (1869-1870) and the present Council. The Council of Trent became the spearhead of the Counter-Reformation. It made minimal concessions to the whole spirit of the Reformation which had swept across Europe and poised against it an uncompromising rigidity which has dominated Roman practice ever since, although there has been no period in which it has not been challenged. Further than this it consolidated the *rapprochement* between the Roman Church and political reaction. Both of these things were carried forward by the Vatican Council of 1869-1870 which was brought to an end with its work unfinished, by the invasion of Rome by the Italian troops which drove out the French defenders of the Vatican. Before its hurried dissolution it had rejected the views of its finest scholars, rejected any kind of democratic procedure and decreed papal infallibility. This has generally been regarded as its most important work whereas in fact of much greater practical significance has been the decree which made the Pope the 'universal ordinary', that is, gave him complete jurisdiction over the local bishops. It is from this decree, for example, that much of the difficulty has arisen in regularising the relations between the Roman Church and the Governments of Socialist countries.

The real significance of the second Vatican Council now meeting is that it is the first decisive reversal not merely of 1870 but of Trent itself. Which trend within the Council wins on this point or that is wholly subsidiary to the underlying fact, which the agenda itself makes clear, that the overhanging cloud of the counter-reformation begins to be blown away and that the Roman Church begins to stride into the modern world: the consequences of this will be far-reaching. One significant reversal of 1870 is already apparent. Knowledgeable observers have long prophesied that some time

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within the twentieth century the administration of the Roman Church would break down from sheer over-centralisation: already the tide has set the other way and one of the main demands before the Council is for more local autonomy.

The Council is free to discuss whatever its members decide. Three thousand bishops, archbishops, and abbots are free to attend. Four hundred and forty of them, together with three hundred and eighty-seven other experts have been involved in the preparatory work which has been divided into commissions to discuss theology; bishops; discipline; the religious (*i.e.*, monks and nuns); sacraments; studies; missions; the Eastern churches; the Laity and Liturgy, while there have been created special secretariats for mass media and Christian Unity.

It will be seen that the concern of the Council is not directly political but for all that, many of its conclusions will have far-reaching social and political effect. It is difficult to say how the tendencies within it are balanced: some bishops are clearly progressive, others such as the Spanish are clearly reactionary. Who will win or what compromises will result it is impossible to predict, although in the early days on certain matters concerned with voting those who came most desirous of change had their way.

It must never be forgotten that winds can change in their direction but this *caveat* having been entered it can be noted that certain initial straws in the wind have been wafted in sound directions. It has not been noted in this country that in the Pope's address to the Polish bishops he spoke of 'the western territories recovered after centuries' which is a significant repudiation of German revisionism; during the midst of the Cuban crisis the Pope appealed to the peoples of the world for peace; the presidential committee has issued an appeal to the world stressing 'the dignity of man and all that contributes towards the real brotherhood of nations'. And in his broadcast address on the opening of the Council, Pope John XXIII said: 'We repeat today that solemn warning. We appeal to all rulers not to remain deaf to the cry of mankind'.

Here at least is an approach which all can endorse. The Soviet *Literaturnaya Gazeta* has already endorsed it in an article which paid tribute to the Pope for his 'realistic position' on several present-day issues, and which saw hope in new trends in Vatican policy on the working out of relations between Catholics and Communists and on working for world peace.

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BOOKS

Journey into the Past

Ivan Maisky

Hutchinson. 288 pp. 30s.

IN NOVEMBER, 1912, a somewhat forlorn Russian émigré landed at Folkestone from Paris via Boulogne; he spoke no English and he had not the five pounds which the regulations demanded of a third class passenger; he was on the point of being turned back when he produced a document proving he was a refugee, and was allowed to go on his way to London. A poor, almost penniless émigré. Twenty years later: 'at half past ten, two state coaches . . . arrived at the Embassy. . . . From the first coach stepped a high Foreign Office official who graciously bowed and said that he had been instructed to accompany me from the Embassy to the Palace. . . . I was in evening dress, complete with patent leather shoes, black overcoat and silk hat'. The forlorn émigré had become His Excellency the Soviet Ambassador!

This second volume of Ivan Maisky's Memoirs does not deal with his experiences as an Ambassador but gives us a truly interesting story of his long sessions in the British Museum, the life and privations of himself and his fellow émigrés, and his very shrewd and interesting appraisal of the British trade union and labour movement.

Several of the outstanding revolutionaries receive special attention and they are surely worthy of it. Chicherin, born into one of the oldest aristocratic families in Russia and, as a Foreign Office official, he wore the best clothes, ate the best food, and drank the choicest wines; then as a Marxist and revolutionary he became an ascetic. Maisky writes: 'I can easily recall the Chicherin of those days. The solitary window of his dark attic looked out on the grimy roofs of London'. Had he been a churchman he would have been well on the way to canonisation, but being a revolutionary he went on the way to Brixton gaol instead. There he was confined for several months and it was only when Litvinov was accorded recognition as the *de facto* representative of the Soviet Union that he succeeded in getting Chicherin released from Brixton, a habitation to which he himself was sent a year later. Maxim Litvinov was the leader of the Bolshevik group in Britain. In the Communist Club in Charlotte Street the émigrés met, discussed, sang, danced, and gave theatrical performances; but also, most of them being quite poor, got tea and sandwiches at a very cheap rate. In the discussions with all the other groups, Mensheviks, Centrist Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Bundists and others, Litvinov took a leading part, always putting the clear Marxist, Bolshevik line. But, like Chicherin, his turn came and off he went to gaol; in the young Soviet Republic Bruce Lockhart had been arrested. Finally, an exchange was effected and Litvinov returned to the Soviet Union.

In my early days in the Social Democratic Federation, Theodore Rothstein was a well-known name to me; he was one of my political mentors and so I read what Maisky had to say about him with especial interest. He was a young man of twenty when he had to get out of Russia; as such he got in touch with various people in the working class movement and became an active member of the Social Democratic Federation. He conducted a long

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struggle against the imperialist Hyndman, a struggle in which we up in Glasgow participated. There are several other interesting sketches of émigrés, but I will only mention one; Prince Peter Kropotkin who, like the Italian, Enrico Malatesta, stood out as an exponent of anarchism. He held court at his home in Brighton; all sorts of people paid homage to him there. When World War I broke out, he forgot his anarchism and came out in support of the Tzarist War; and so, when the February Revolution took place and he wanted to go back to Russia, Britain and her allies were only too happy to help him get there, as they knew he would support those who were for carrying on the war to the bitter end. But when the Great October Revolution burst upon the world, he was lost; he did not understand what had happened; the revolution did not go the way he had wanted it and he could only gaze at the mighty movement that was changing Russia and which is destined to change the world, without the least understanding of its scope and content. He was provided with a cottage outside Moscow; I went there to visit him in 1920, with Jack Tanner, who was one of his disciples, and J. T. Murphy. Kropotkin was a poor lost soul with a daughter who was a vicious counter-revolutionary. What an end to a brilliant mind that was its own undoing through a refusal to study and grasp the dialectic of Marxism.

There is a nice story about George Lansbury, anything but a nice story about Ramsay MacDonald, and a short very fine pen-picture of Big Jim Larkin, and, as I have said a shrewd understanding of the British working class movement which all comrades will benefit from reading. And just one incident to show the difference between 1913 and now. That year Maisky attended, as a visitor, the Trades Union Congress. He was surprised to hear delegates declare their allegiance to the Liberal Party. Out in the corridor he met and talked with the late James Middleton and the latter showed him a very significant table. In the elections of 1906 and 1910, while there were more than one and a half million affiliated members in the trade unions, the Labour Party only polled between three and five hundred thousand votes. 'This was remarkable. It meant that only twenty to thirty per cent of those paying their subscriptions to the Labour Party funds were voting for it at the elections. What were the rest doing? "The rest", Middleton explained, "voted for the Liberals or Conservatives or simply abstained . . . . *Lack of class consciousness, you will say. . . . Of course it is*" ' (My emphasis, W.G.) At that time all of us in the movement were battling away, at street corners and public halls, to get workers class-concious. Now the labour leaders, grovelling to and accepted by, the Establishment, labour might and main to keep the workers away from 'the wicked Communists' and all talk or thought of class; on the contrary, to recognise 'the common interest' and make plenty of profits for their good kind masters.

Like all others who read this volume, I look forward to the third volume, which I understand is now ready for the publishers, and which will deal with the movement as he saw it while an Ambassador, and with the many personalities that responsible post brought him into contact with. But read this volume while waiting for the next.

WILLIAM GALLACHER.

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Factors in Economic Development
A. K. Cairncross
Allen and Unwin. 346 pp. 35s.

Theories of Economic Growth and Development
Irma Adelman
Oxford University Press. 164 pp. 30s.

PROFESSOR CAIRNCROSS, recently appointed Economic Adviser to the Government, is now to be their finest feather in the economic wings of a reconditioned Treasury. These wings that have been so long a-growing—a Central Planning Staff was created under Plowden in 1947—have still to show how many yards of unpowered flight they can sustain—unpowered, that is to say, by public ownership of the means of production or administration controlled by the working-class or a socialist system. However this appointment to a post of prominence adds interest to his new book which was completed just before he went to his official duties. It is not a unified presentation of the subject matter but a series of essays and articles of varying weight and mixed quality. Often they contain facts or comments of interest but the lines of enquiry they suggest hardly ever are pursued with persistence. One feels that Prof. Cairncross is perhaps too conscious of his audience and knows too well what will jar. For example, in his chapter on 'Foreign and Domestic Capital' he finds it necessary to turn aside from his discussion of the export of capital to insert, what he would call 'emotive phrases', to make it clear he does not share Communist views (*e.g.* 'I need not emphasize that the view of foreign investment as a "sink" for surplus capital is by no means dead. It is still part of the accepted dogma of Communist theory, conveniently extinguishing any merit that may seem to attach to a loan or investment by a capitalist country. . .' (p. 51)). His main technique is that of 'exploring the contrary point of view' (though never too deeply), but sometimes this trusted device leads him into fatuities when he queries (p. 75) whether capital is an important factor in the economic growth of a capitalist society!

Maybe it is not unusual for men to take as their motto the opposite of what they are and the Latin tag in his dedication (of which the gist is 'Nothing by halves') is precisely the opposite of Prof. Cairncross' economics; he seems always to disengage just when the consequences of pursuing truth begin to loom into sight.

Mrs. Adelman's book on 'Theories of Economic Growth and Development' is of a very different sort. It is a carefully constructed and well unified survey of basic theory of economic growth. After introductory chapters about the general framework of the analysis, she has chapters on Adam Smith, Ricardo, Karl Marx, Schumpeter and the Neo-Keynesians. She follows the best academic standards of objectivity and craftsmanship in the presentation of her material—which by consequence is highly useful to those for whom it is intended, namely students of economic theory. (Mrs. Adelman is Assistant Professor at Stanford University, California.) In her treatment of Marx—though clearly not herself a Marxist—she has sought the real substance of his writings and has recognised 'the scope and power of his analysis'. Whilst the book is for those who, to some degree, have specialist interests in economics, it does not—as a quick glance might suggest—call for a knowledge of mathematics. The mathematics she uses is not so much an instrument

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in the argument as a convenient shorthand for summarising and comparing the different theories. The main defect of the book is its failure (whilst dealing quite well with the socio-cultural environment within capitalism) to consider the economic significance of a socialist revolution as a *qualitative* change in the socio-cultural—and political, legal and property—environment. Or, if this was regarded as a too 'difficult' or too 'different' topic, its existence and importance should have been clearly enunciated and the gap, because of its omission, pointed out.

JOHN EATON.

The Weapons Acquisition Process: An Economic Analysis

M. J. Peck and F. M. Scherer

Bailey Bros & Swinfen Ltd.

736 pp. $10

THE HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL has provided an up-to-date structural analysis of an industry which has been of special interest to socialists since the campaigns of E. D. Morel and the Union of Democratic Control against the 'merchants of death' in the early twentieth century. The analysis is economic and primarily concerned with the government-business relationship in which decisions on weapon programmes in the U.S.A. are taken. The expense to the public purse of cost-plus systems; the influence of the services in demanding production and performance unrelated to control of expense, and the subsidisation of armament production by government provision of capital, are described through a number of case studies, and with a mathematically (if not grammatically) elegant application of 'weapon system development programme evaluation experiment methodology'. The authors point out that in the production of 'weaponry' there can be no true market economy, and that the shift from government to private production has increasingly integrated government with private industry. They are sceptical of the amount of influence exercised by political considerations in the allocation of contracts, though 'this conclusion will be greeted with scepticism by many veterans of the weapons industry'. The contradiction is perhaps explained by their limitation of 'political considerations' to the efforts of congressmen to secure defence contracts for their own states. On political considerations as we would understand them, they refer shortly to the publicity campaigns and the employment of retired officers by armament firms (quoting Eisenhower's comment on the 'military-industrial complex') but do not go into the deeper implications of 'what is good for General Motors is good for America'. On the international level, they proceed from the assumption that 'barring some agreement on armament limitation (which presently appears unlikely) . . . the U.S. is therefore forced to make equivalent advances [with the U.S.S.R.] in the state of the weapons art to maintain qualitative parity.' The effect of forcing American-type weapons on the Nato allies, at the expense of British 'product-obsolescence' is not dealt with. But as at least three other volumes in this project are promised, perhaps some of the gaps may be filled later. In the meantime, the present volume offers a wealth of information on how one sector of capitalism works, and demonstrates how the essential characteristics of capitalism are maintained in a setting apparently far removed from its classical forms.

JUDITH TODD.

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LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

When Nazism Began

(The first exposure in the British press of German Nazism appeared in this article in Labour Monthly*—before the January Putsch of* 1923.)

The second group arising out of the Orgesch is that centring round the so-called 'National Socialists'. To them have come what remains of the Organisation Consul, the Organisation Kanzler, and the Freikorps Oberland. As extreme anti-Semites they have reconstituted themselves under this new name and are organising terrorist expeditions against Socialist industrial centres, attacks on Jewish shopkeepers, and the plundering of banks and post trains. In fact, even the Bavarian Government has been forced to issue warrants for arrest for highway robbery against some of the leaders of this group. They represent the extreme Right of the Fascist Movement in Germany—the romantic robber barons of the middle ages transplanted into the twentieth century, with the self-imposed task of saving the capitalist system. . . . The headquarters of the National Socialists and others of the romantic Fascisti type are at Munich. From here they dominate Bavaria south of the Danube. Through the secretary to the police prefect in Munich, Herr Glaser, one of their nominees, they control the secret service and apparatus of justice in this part of Germany. Woe to any person who crosses their path as the result of the Fechenbach trial showed, where ten years' penal servitude was given to German citizens who had dared to report in the Press the activities of their secret societies.

(From 'Bavaria and the German Fascisti' by M. Philips Price, *Labour Monthly*, January, 1923.)

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